and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes. 565 567 178

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status. 696 ● 681 567 626 [684 588]

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set. 557 565 556

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners. 554 531

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the 178 554 342 565 531

176 with ingenious gears, and two spools. It also has a circular
401 shutter in front, and is fantastically clever. The Sulewatang
403 and Andi both said it was a great pity that he had no training.
874 He is a fine lad. He had three rolls of old newsreels and travel pictures and showed them after someone lent him a few batteries. One of the films was broken. Evidently he is called upon to show the same old films quite often and as a result they are wearing out. I was quite impressed with the Sulewatang's and Andi's strong statement regarding the lack of schools for such men here. Later I told Thierens, and he said he would see if he could not send the lad to Makassar for training. His machine really works well. He even has a wheel for a string arrangement if he gets a small motor. It reminded me of the old man in Balombaru who had made a match head cap pistol for his son and also a model Makassarese prau, with a propeller, with an auxiliary motor rigged up from an alarm clock. It could run over a hundred meters. There is certainly technical skill here that could be developed.

565 We left the party and the Sulewatang came with us to stay
574 at the local Sulewatang's house (Kepala wanua Tumurun,
431 which he was formerly). This lad, a young and quite bright
156 fellow, is his nephew. He was going to visit the Aru Tau in Watumpone, where his wife had recently given birth to a child. They evidently visit around with fellow nobles a lot, and this takes up much of their time. I tried to bring the Kepala kampong into the conversation at the Sulewatang Tumurun's house, where he was sitting to one side. However, the two uppers would not let me. They were uninterested in the Kepala kampong. This peculiar disregard for any human qualities in preference to rank is a pain to me. The old Sulewatang asked me to show him United States currency. I was sure he would want some for a souvenir. He asked me to get him a nylon shirt from the United States. I think it is because he has always been used to asking for what he could get for nothing from the poor people here. These nobles have only to ask for things from the masses and the latter dare not refuse (honor?).

● 1096 Incidental: The Sulewatang said that the kampong where the feast is being held was not a former fugitive kampong, as Andi had told me. But at any rate they evidently had such kampongs at one time as both of them knew about the matter.